

Message Text

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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O 242030Z AUG 75 ZFF-3

FM USDEL SECRETARY IN JERUSALEM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 10084

EXDIS (HANDLE AS NODIS)

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS MONDAY

FOR EB - ENDERS, S/P - LEWIS FROM LORD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ENG, UNGA

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S UN SPEECH

1. FOLLOWING IS A MODESTLY REVISED INTRODUCTION
INCORPORATING MOST OF THE SECRETARY'S COMMENTS. PLEASE PASS THIS
IMMEDIATELY TO AMBASSADOR MOYNIHAN AND ASK HIM TO RE-
WORK IT. THERE ARE A FEW ADDITIONAL COMMENTS BY THE SECRETARY
IN BRACKETS WHICH SHOULD BE REFLECTED. MORE GERNERALLY
THE INTRODUCTION NEEDS TIGHTENING, ELEVATION, AND DRIVE.
THE SECRETARY ALSO COMMENTS THAT IT STILL LACKS A SENSE
OF PURPOSE, I.E. WHY IS DEVELOPMENT AN INTERNATIONAL
RESPONSIBILITY. ALSO THAT IT NEEDS A LITTLE MORE STEEL
AS FAR AS THE US IS CONCERNED. THE POINT THAT WE MUST
FIND A NEW BASIS FOR THE FOREIGN AID RELATIONSHIP NEEDS
TO BE MADE AS WELL. PLEASE PASS THESE COMMENTS TO
MOYNIHAN, WHILE MAKING CLEAR THAT THE SECRETARY NEVERTHE-
LESS LIKES MOCH OF THE INTRODUCTION. PLEASE ASK HIM
ALSO TO TRY HIS HAND AT A BRIEF, SOARING
CONCLUSION, A COUPLE OF PAGES THAT WILL REPLAY
SOME OF THE MAJOR THEMES.

2. WE ARE SENDING THIS INTRODCUTION NOW SO THAT
MOYNIHAN CAN GET A HEAD START ON IT AS WELL AS
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A CONCLUSION. WE ARE REWORKING ALL THE OTHER

SECTIONS, REFLECTING THOSE COMMENTS OF THE SECRETARY THAT WE CAN HANDLE HERE, BEFORE SENDING THESE SECTIONS BACK TO YOU, MONDAY MIDDAY YOUR TIME. THESE ALSO SHOULD BE PASSED TO MOYNIHAN. A SEPARATE CABLE FOLLOWS NOW GIVING YOU A PREVIEW OF THE MAJOR WORK WE WILL NEED FROM YOU SO THAT YOU CAN GET IT GOING EVEN WHILE AWAITING THE FULL DRAFT. WE WILL NEED A CONSOLIDATED DRAFT WITH THE PARAGRAPHS RENUMBERS BACK FROM YOU BY OPENING OF BUSINESS WEDNESDAY MORNING OUR TIME.

3. BEGIN TEXT.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND GLOBAL CONSENSUS

MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL,
DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

WE ASSEMBLE HERE THIS WEEK WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF MANKIND.

THIS VERY FACT REPRESENTS A REVOLUTION IN THE HUMAN CONDITION. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, MAN HAS THE TECHNICAL CAPACITY TO ABOLISH HUNGER, TO CONQUER DISEASE, TO REGULATE POPULATION GROWTH, TO COMBAT ILLITERACY, AND TO EXPAND AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY AND ECONOMIC WELL-BEING IN EVERY SOCIETY.

BUT MAN STANDS NOT SIMPLY AT A PLATUEA OF TECHNICAL ABILITY; HE STANDS AT A POINT OF MORAL CHOICE. FOR WHEN OUR DREAMS BECOME POSSIBILITIES, OUR MORAL PRINCIPLES MAKE THEM DUTIES.

FOR DECADES, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WAS PERCEIVED AS A TECHNICAL PROBLEM -- AS A QUESTION OF RESOURCES AND MANAGEMENT. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE -- WHICH MY COUNTRY PIONEERED -- WAS INITIALLY TREATED AS AN ASPECT OF BILATERAL RELATIONS. TODAY THE CONVENING OF THIS SPECIAL SESSION BEARS WITNESS THAT DEVELOPMENT HAS BECOME A CENTRAL CONCERN OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.
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FOR WE HAVE EVOLVED NOT ONLY TECHNOLOGICALLY BUT POLITICALLY. OUR GENERATION HAS SEEN INTERNATIONAL RELATIOS BECOME, FOR THE FIRST TIME, TRULY GLOBAL. MAN IN HIS DRIVE FOR PROGRESS HAS EXPANDED THE NETWORK OF COMMUNICATIONS, OPENED UP RESOURCES EVERYWHERE FOR DEVELOPMENT, AND EXTENDED THE REACH OF COMMERCE. PARTICIPATION IN

THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM EMBRACES NEARLY THE TOTALITY
OF MANKIND; MEN'S CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE FATE OF THEIR
BRETHREN IS GLOBAL, AND ALMOST INSTANTANEOUS.

THE COLONIAL ORDER THAT LASTED THROUGH CENTURIES
HAS LONG SINCE DISINTEGRATED; THE COLD WAR DIVISION
OF THE WORLD INTO TWO RIGID IDEOLOGICAL BLOCS HAS ALSO
BROKEN DOWN. WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF SOME 150
INDEPENDENT NATIONS -- OF NEW IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS,
CONTINUING POLITICAL TUMULT AND ECONOMIC RIVALRY.
WILL WE NOW FLOUNDER IN ANARCHY? OR CAN WE BUILD A
NEW WORLD ORDER, BY CONSCIOUS PURPOSE, OUT OF THE
EQUALITY AND COOPERATION OF STATES? CAN WE TURN THE
ENERGIES OF NATIONS TO THE TASK OF HUMAN PROGRESS?
THESE ARE THE CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME.

THE DEVELOPING NATIONS HAVE STATED THEIR CLAIM
FOR A GREATER ROLE IN DIPLOMACY, FOR GREATER CONTROL
OVER THEIR RESOURCES AND ECONOMIC DESTINY, AND FOR A
JUST SHARE IN GLOBAL PROSPERITY. THEY HAVE STRESSED
THEIR REQUIREMENTS FOR BETTER ACCESS TO MARKETS AND
TECHNOLOGY, FOR BETTER ASSURANCE OF STABLE INCOME
AND STABLE PURCHASING POWER, FOR HELP IN
INDUSTRIALIZATION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. WE

UNDERSTAND THESE NEEDS - - AND WE ACCEPT MANY OF THE
CLAIMS AS VALID.

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 SECTO 10084

EXDIS (HANDLE AS NODIS)

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS MONDAY

FOR EB - ENDERS, S/P - LEWIS FROM LORD

THE DEVELOPED NATIONS IN TURN HAVE ASSERTED THEIR NEEDS: THEY REQUIRE RELIABLE SUPPLIES OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS, AND OTHER PRODUCTS, AT A FAIR PRICE. THEY WANT TO SEE EXPANDING TRADE AND STABLE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS. FOR THESE ARE IMPORTANT TO THE WELL-BEING OF THEIR OWN SOCIETIES. THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES HAVE ORGANIZED THEMSELVES SUCCESSFULLY AND BEGUN TO COORDINATE THEIR ECONOMIC POLICIES IN MANY FIELDS, TO OFFER A COMMON POLICY OF DIALOGUE WITH THE PRODUCER NATIONS.

NEITHER DEVELOPING OR DEVELOPED NATIONS CAN ACHIEVE THEIR GOALS IN ISOLATION. NEITHER CAN EXTORT THEM FROM THE OTHER, THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES LEAST OF ALL.

BUT THESE ISSUES HAVE ALREADY BECOME THE SUBJECT OF MANY CONFRONTATIONS -- EMBARGOES, CARTELS, SEIZURES, COUNTERMEASURES AND BITTER RHETORIC. OVER THE NEXT THIRTY YEARS, IF THIS TREND CONTINUES, THE DIVISION OF THE WORLD BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH, RICH AND POOR, COULD BECOME AS GRIM AND MENACING AS THE EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION IN THE DARKEST DAYS OF THE COLD WAR.

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IF COOPERATIVE EFFORTS FAIL, WE SHALL ALL SUFFER. THE PRICE IS STARK: A CLIMATE OF RESENTMENT, AN INCREASING TEMPTATION TO TECHNIQUES OF ECONOMIC WARFARE, A HARDENING OF BLOCS, MOUNTING POLITICAL DIVISIONS, UNDERMINING OF COOPERATIVE RELATIONS, THE EROSION OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS -- AND THE UTLIMATE FAILURE OF ALL EFFORTS FOR DEVELOPMENT.

THE UNITED STATES HAS THE LONG-RUN STRENGTH TO WITHSTAND SUCH CONTESTS OF ECONOMIC POWER. WE ARE LIKELY TO EMERGE FROM THEM RELATIVELY BETTER OFF THAN OTHERS. THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD COULD CONCENTRATE WITH CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS ON DEVELOPING RESOURCES INTERNAL TO THAT WORLD. AND THE DEVELOPING NATIONS COULD FIND THEMSELVES NEEDLESSLY CUT OFF FROM SOURCES OF CAPITAL AND MARKETS ESSENTIAL TO THEIR GROWTH.

BUT WE ARE NOT INTERESTED IN SUCH PAPER VICTORIES. THE WORLD WILL SUFFER ABSOLUTELY -- INCLUDING EVENTUALLY THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE WORLD

COMMUNITY HAS A BETTER ALTERNATIVE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME SHOULD UNITE US, AND NOT DIVIDE US. IN MODERN CONDITIONS, ECONOMIC WARFARE SPELLS FUTILITY AND NEEDLESS HARDSHIP FOR ALL NATIONS. A CONSENSUS ON THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF MANKIND COULD SPELL COMMON PROGRESS.

FOR THE REALITY IS THAT THE WORLD ECONOMY IS A SINGLE GLOBAL SYSTEM OF TRADE AND MONETARY RELATIONS THAT CANNOT BE UNDERMINED WITHOUT DAMAGE TO ALL OUR ECONOMIES. THE REALITY IS THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WILL COME ONLY FROM A SUSTAINED PROCESS OF GROWTH, FUELED BY IMPROVING TRADE CONDITIONS, TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE AND LARGE-SCALE INVESTMENT FROM MANY SOURCES. THIS REQUIRES THE COOPERATION AND SUPPORT OF MANY NATIONS -- AND CANNOT BE EXTORTED FROM THEM AS RANSOM OR BLACKMAIL. THE REALITY IS THAT THE MEANS EXIST FOR COOPERATIVE EFFORTS ON THE BASIS OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT. (SECRETARY'S COMMENT: STILL NOT STRONG ENOUGH WHO CONFRONTATION WILL NOT WORK AND WHY WE WILL RESIST IT.) THEREFORE, THE NATIONS ASSEMBLED HERE HAVE A CHOICE: CONFIDENTIAL

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WE CAN OFFER OUR PEOPLE SLOGANS, OR WE CAN OFFER THEM SOLUTIONS. WE CAN DEAL IN RHETORIC, OR WE CAN DEAL IN REALITY. MY GOVERNMENT HAS MADE THE CHOICE. WE CHOOSE THE COOPERATIVE ROAD; WE SEEK A COMMON COMMITMENT. THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT DO SO AS AN ACT OF CHARITY. WE DO SO BECAUSE THE SUCCESS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY WILL DETERMINE AND KIND OF WORLD THAT WE, AND OUR CHILDREN, WILL INHABIT. (SECRETARY'S COMMENT: ADD ANOTHER SENTENCE OR TWO ON THE AMERICAN SELF-INTEREST.) FOR DEVELOPMENT IS A DIMENSION OF PEACE. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WILL FIND NO TRANQUILITY IF THE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF SCORES OF COUNTRIES AND MILLIONS OF PEOPLE GO UNFULFILLED OR UNADDRESSED IN THE FORUMS OF DIPLOMACY. THERE IS NO GREATER MENACE TO PEACE THAN A SENSE OF INJUSTICE; THERE IS NO GREATER MENACE TO POLITICAL RELATIONS THAN THE RESORT TO ECONOMIC WARFARE. (SECRETARY'S COMMENT: WE HAVE TO EXPLAIN WHAT WE MEAN AND WHY WE SHALL RESIST.) FOR ALL GOVERNMENTS ARE COMPELLED TO LOOK TO THE WELL-BEING OF THEIR OWN CITIZENS -- AND YET THERE IS NO SOLUTION FOR ANY NATION IN ISOLATION FROM OTHERS. BUT WITH EQUAL CONVICTION WE MUST STATE THAT THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE SUSTAINED GROWTH OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. THIS GROWTH MEANS GROWING MARKETS FOR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' EXPORTS OF RAW MATERIALS AND MANUFACTURES AND A GROWING POOL OF RESOURCES WHICH ARE THE PREREQUISITE OF THE EXPANSION OF THEIR PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY. POLICIES OF ECONOMIC WARFARE

WOULD SURELY JEOPARDIZE THE FUTURE OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MOST OF ALL.
THEREFORE, THE QUESTION BEFORE THIS ASSEMBLY IS:
WHY, IF WE HAVE THE COMMON INTERESTS, HAVE WE FAILED TO TAKE MORE PRACTICAL STEPS TO ADVANCE THEM?
APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE THAT WERE BORN IN THE 1950'S AND 60'S ARE NO LONGER ADEQUATE. NOT ONLY DID TECHNICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF MANY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FALL SHORT OF EXPECTATIONS. SUCH TRADITIONAL APPROACHES ARE BECOMING UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLES OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES BECAUSE THEY HAVE SEEMED TO AMOUNT TO AN ENDLESS AND ONE-SIDED FINANCIAL BURDEN. AND THEY ARE BECOMING UNACCEPTABLE TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BECAUSE THEY HAVE SEEMED TO CREATE A RELATIONSHIP OF CHARITY
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AND DEPENDENCY, INCONSISTENT WITH SELF-RESPECT AND JUSTICE. THEREFORE WE NEED A BASIS FOR DEVELOPMENT GOING BEYOND TRADITIONAL ECONOMIC AID.
HISTORY HAS ALSO LEFT US A LEGACY OF DOCTRINES THAT ARE MADE OBSOLETE BY REALITY. IT HAS LEFT US THE DOCTRINE OF NATIONALISM -- NATIONAL ADVANTAGE AS AN END IN ITSELF. BUT NATIONALISM IS DISCREDITED IN THIS CENTURY BY ITS BRUTAL EXCESSES A GENERATION AGO, AND BY ITS PATENT INADEQUACY FOR THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF OUR TIME. THE ECONOMY IS GLOBAL. RECESSIONS, INFLATION, TRADE RELATIONS, THE STABILITY OF CURRENCIES, GLUTS AND SCARCITIES OF PRODUCTS AND MATERIALS, THE GROWTH OF TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES -- THESE ARE INTERNATIONAL PHENOMENA. NO NATION IS IMMUNE TO EXTERNAL EVENTS, OR CAN CONTROL THE ENVIRONMENT WHICH IMPINGES UPON IT. NO GOVERNMENT CAN FULFILL THE NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE BY ITS OWN ACTION, WITHOUT COLLABORATION WITH OTHERS.
HISTORY HAS ALSO LEFT US DOCTRINES OF ECONOMIC DETERMINISM AND STRUGGLE, WHICH ARE ALSO OBSOLETE IN THIS ERA. IT IS IRONIC THAT AN IDEOLOGY BASED ON MATERIALISM, THAT PROMISED ECONOMIC JUSTICE, HAS DONE SO POORLY IN RAISING THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. THE REALITY IS THAT DEVELOPMENT IS NOT A STRUGGLE IN WHICH THE PROGRESS OF ONE NATION SPELLS THE DETRIMENT OF ANOTHER. ON THE CONTRARY. WE DO NOT EXPECT TO BE WORSE OFF IF OTHERS ARE BETTER OFF; WE EXPECT ALL TO BE BETTER OFF. THIS IS NOT THEORY TO US; THIS IS THE REALITY
OF OUR EXPERIENCE.
IT IS ALSO IRONIC THAT A PHILOSOPHY OF NONALIGNMENT, DESIGNED TO GIVE NEW NATIONS THE FREEDOM TO MAKE THEIR NATIONAL CHOICES FREE FROM THE PRESSURE OF COMPETING BLOCS, NOW HAS PRODUCED A BLOC OF ITS OWN - PERHAPS THE MOST RIGID AND CERTAINLY THE MOST COMPREHENSIVE ONE

EXISTING. NATIONS WITH RADICALLY DIFFERENT ECONOMIC
INTERESTS AND WITH ENTIRELY DIFFERENT POLITICAL CONCERNS ARE
COMBINED IN A KIND OF SOLIDARITY THAT OFTEN CLEARLY
SACRIFICES PRACTICAL INTERESTS. IT IS AN IRONY THAT THE
MOST DEVASTATING BLOW TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THIS
DECADE CAME NOT FROM "IMPERIALIST RAPACITY" BUT FROM AN
ARBITRARY, MONOMOLISTIC INCREASE IN THE WORLD PRICE OF OIL.
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AND CONTRARY TO THE IDEOLOGIES OF DESPAIR, MOST
DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN INCREASING THEIR PER CAPITA
INCOMES AT FAR HIGHER RATES THAN THOSE WHICH OBTAINED
HISTORICALLY IN EUROPE OR NORTH AMERICAN DURING THE
COMPARABLE STAGES OF THEIR GROWTH.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 SECTO 10084

EXDIS (HANDLE AS NODIS)

DELIVER OPENING OF BUSINESS MONDAY

FOR EB - ENDERS, S/P - LEWIS FROM LORD

SO LET US GET DOWN TO BUSINESS. LET US PUT ASIDE THE
STIRLE DEBATE OVER WHETHER A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER IS
REQUIRED OR WHETHER THE OLD ECONOMIC ORDER IS ADEQUATE.
LET US LOOK FORWARD TO SHAPING THE WORLD OF THE FUTURE.
THIS SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY HAS BROUGHT
US TOGETHER ON THE PREMISE THAT OUR COOPERATION NOW IS

THE ONLY SOLUTION. LET US ADDRESS OUR PROBLEMS, NOT OUR PHILOSOPHIES. CHANGE IS INHERENT IN WHAT WE DO, AND WHAT WE SEEK. BUT ONE FACT DOES NOT CHANGE: THAT WITHOUT A CONSENSUS ON THE PRINCIPLES WHICH MUST GUIDE OUR INTERNATIONAL EFFORT, WE WILL ACHIEVE NOTHING.

-- THERE MUST BE CONSENSUS, FIRST, ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT OUR COMMON DEVELOPMENT GOALS CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY COOPERATION, NOT BY THE POLITICS OF CONFRONTATION.

-- THERE MUST BE CONSENSUS THAT RECOGNIZES OUR RESPECTIVE CONCERNS AND OUR MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITIES. ALL OF US HAVE RIGHTS AND ALL OF US HAVE DUTIES.

-- THE CONSENSUS MUST EMBRACE THE BROADEST POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL DECISIONS. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MUST HAVE A ROLE AND VOICE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY IN DECISIONS THAT AFFECT THEM.

BUT THOSE WHO ARE ASKED TO PROVIDE RESOURCES AND EFFORT TO CARRY OUT THE DECISIONS MUST BE GRANTED A COMMENSURATE VOICE.

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IT IS NOT THE ROLE OF THIS ORGANIZATION, OR ANY OTHER, TO IMPOSE PRESCRIPTIONS FOR NATIONAL CHOICES. WE MUST TOLERATE DIFFERENT PATHS, ORIGINATING IN HISTORY, CULTURE, AND PHILOSOPHY. BUT WE MUST REACH GLOBAL CONSENSUS HERE TO ACT, AND TO ACT TOGETHER.

I OFFER TODAY CONCRETE PROPOSALS FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IF OTHERS DISAGREE, LET THEM PUT FORWARD THEIR PRESCRIPTIONS, AND WE WILL DISCUSS THEM IN A COOPERATIVE SPIRIT.

WE BELIEVE THAT AN EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON FIVE FUNDAMENTAL AREAS:

-- FIRST, THE PRECONDITION FOR GROWTH IS A MINIMUM OF ECONOMIC SECURITY AGAINST THE RAVAGES OF RECESSION AND INFLATION, THE CRUELITIES OF DROUGHT AND FAMINE, AND RADICAL SWINGS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' EXPORT EARNINGS. THEREFORE, LET US ATTACK COLLECTIVELY THESE BASIC FACTORS OF ECONOMIC INSTABILITY. THE UNITED STATES OFFERS FUNDAMENTAL NEW PROPOSALS.

-- SECONDLY, THE PRECONDITION FOR ACCELERATED GROWTH IS THE INFUSION OF CAPITAL, NEW TECHNOLOGY, AND MANAGEMENT SKILLS IN A DEVELOPING ECONOMY. THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES STEPS TO IMPROVE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' ACCESS TO CAPITAL MARKETS, TO FOCUS AND ADAPT NEW TECHNOLOGY TO SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENT NEEDS, AND TO CLARIFY FUNDAMENTALLY THE CONDITIONS FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT BY TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

-- THIRD, WE MUST IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF

TRADE FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN MANUFACTURES
AND KEY COMMODITIES, ESPECIALLY FOOD, AND THE
BASIC CONDITIONS OF ACCESS TO MARKETS AND SUPPLIES
GENERALLY, SO THAT THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES CAN
EARN MORE INCOME THROUGH THEIR OWN EXPORTS.
-- FOURTH, LET US ADDRESS THE SPECIAL NEEDS OF
THE POOREST COUNTRIES, WHO ARE THE MOST DEVASTATED
BY CURRENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, SHARING THE
RESPONSIBILITY AMONG OLD AND NEWLY WEALTHY DONORS.
-- FIFTH, WE MUST INVITE WIDER PARTICIPATION IN
INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS AND INTERNATIONAL
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DICISIONS, IN THE NAME OF BOTH JUSTICE AND
EFFECTIVENESS.
THE UNITED STATES HAS ITS OWN EXPERIENCE TO
OFFER -- AND ITS CONFIDENCE IN THE POTENTIAL OF THE
DEVELOPING NATIONS TO MATCH IT.
THE COOPERATION AND GROWTH OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED
NATIONS IS ESSENTIAL. AND THE DETERMINATION OF
DEVELOPING NATIONS TO MOBILIZE THEIR OWN EFFORT IS
CRUCIAL; WITHOUT IT NO OUTSIDE EFFORT WILL HAVE
EFFECT. GOVERNMENT POLICIES TO CALL FORTH SAVINGS,
TO INSTITUTE LAND REFORM, TO EXPLOIT INVESTMENT
OPPORTUNITIES, TO USE EXTERNAL AID AND INVESTMENT
PRODUCTIVELY, TO MANAGE AND ALLOCATE NATIONAL
RESOURCES WISELY -- THESE ARE THE RAL KEYS. THERE-
FORE THERE MUST BE NATIONAL AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL
COMMITMENT.
MY COUNTRY IS COMMITTED TO DO ITS PART FOR THE
SUCCESS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. THE LARGE
CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION HERE, AND THE SERIOUSNESS
WITH WHICH THEY HAVE WORKED IN COLLABORATION WITH
THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH IN THE PREPARATION OF THESE
PROPOSALS, AND EVIDENCE OF MY COUNTRY'S
COMMITMENT. WE ASK IN RETURN A SERIOUS INTER-
NATIONAL DIALOGUE ON THE CHALLENGES WHICH THE
WORLD COMMUNITY FACES IN COMMON. END TEXT.

4. FINAL NOTE: THE FIVE FUNDAMENTAL AREAS AT
THE END SHOULD BE CHANGED TO SHOW SEPARATE
TREATMENT OF TRADE AND COMMODITIES AND THE DELETION
OF WIDER PARTICIPATION. PLEASE PASS THIS TO
MOYNIHAN AS WELL.
KISSINGER

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